

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KIHUEN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to remember the life of Laura Shipp.

Laura attended the Route 91 festival in Las Vegas on October 1.

Laura was a single mother to her son, Corey, who is a Marine Corps reservist.

Laura and her son had a strong relationship, and she had even moved from California to Las Vegas so she could be closer to him.

Laura loved the Los Angeles Dodgers and country music. She was protective of those that she loved and had a big heart.

Laura is remembered as being a smart woman who would always make sure to buy her son and nephew a toy or a snack, even when she didn't have a lot of money.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my condolences to Laura Shipp's family and friends. Please know that the city of Las Vegas, the State of Nevada, and the whole country grieve with you.

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PULLING OUT OF IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous materials on the topic of my Special Order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Speaker, throughout the next hour, we will discuss the President's correct decision to pull out of the Iran nuclear agreement, otherwise known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, as well as the urgent need to eliminate Iran's problematic nuclear and nonnuclear activities.

Joining me tonight are Members of Congress from across our great country who are deeply passionate about America's best interests and supportive of the President's decision to withdraw from the Iran deal.

Mr. Speaker, this first speaker who we will hear from tonight is someone who I was elected with in 2014, who I have had many conversations with about the importance of ensuring that America's foreign policy is strong, consistent, and effective. He has been a strong, consistent, and effective voice for the need to pursue a better path forward with regard to the United States' relationship with Iran and the need to combat their nuclear and non-nuclear activities.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HILL).

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from New York (Mr. ZELDIN) for his leadership in this House on this important topic and for his voice that carries across all freedom-loving people about the relationship that we are trying to have with Iran; on the failures of the Iranian nuclear deal and why it is a bad deal for America and for our allies; why it has put the American people at risk and our security at risk, particularly for not only our country, but our allies, and, particularly, our ally Israel.

This deal has major flaws that have been noted over the past couple of years, including the sunset provisions, which never should have been included, and zero monitoring of the Iranian military or the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps sites.

It allowed continued research and development on advanced centrifuges for the Iranian nuclear program, and it didn't prohibit, Mr. Speaker, any ballistic missile technology. In fact, when Secretary Kerry was negotiating this deal, Iranian representatives traveled to Moscow, no doubt to attempt to acquire ballistic missile technology.

My concerns are shared, Mr. Speaker, by a large bipartisan group in the House, and I recall the votes in the Senate to disapprove this deal. These procedural votes in the Senate demonstrated that the nuclear deal negotiated by Mr. Kerry and Mr. Obama was well short of the treaty approval level—that is, two-thirds of the Senate—which would have been necessary had the Obama administration actually attempted to submit the JCPOA as a treaty.

Without decertification, this deal allowed Iran to head in the same direction as North Korea, and I support the President in his decision to decertify the Iran nuclear deal.

Mr. Speaker, I pledge to work with my colleagues in the House like Mr. BARR from Kentucky, who chairs our Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade on sanctions; my colleague Mr. ZELDIN on the Financial Services Committee; as well as our colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee who will support policies that will target Iran's terror financing, its missile technology, its violations of human rights, and, certainly, the topic of the night, its nuclear program.

It is well documented by the U.S. Department of State in multiple administrations that Iran is the world's number one state sponsor of terrorism. They have a history of arresting American citizens and citizens of other Western countries with no chance of a fair trial.

We must not forget the people of Iran who are living under the oppression of this extremist Islamic regime that is a persistent violator of human rights and religious freedom. Recently, just in May, the regime arrested a 19-year-old Iranian girl for posting on Instagram a video of herself dancing in her own room. Dancing.

I stand here tonight with the people of Iran and support their peaceful protests against the oppressive and corrupt mullahs in Tehran. The House took an important step earlier this year by passing a resolution in support of the Iranian people.

Today, Iran's economy is on the brink of collapse.

What happened to the \$150 billion in freed financial assets that was unfrozen on day one in the Iranian deal? There was no quid pro quo on that. Those funds were freed, Mr. Speaker, on day one, whether Iran complied with the long-term aspects of the agreement or not.

What happened to the \$1.7 billion, pallets of currency that were delivered to the mullahs by the Obama administration in the middle of the night at the Geneva airport? Where is that money for the Iranian people? It is not hard to guess where it went or who has it, which is why we passed Congressman BRUCE POLIQUIN's bill, the Iranian Leadership Asset Transparency Act, a commonsense measure that will let the people of Iran see what the regime is doing with those billions, and what has happened to them since Iran got the money back.

I call on the Senate to pass this bill so that we can show the world how corrupt the regime is. Today, Mr. Speaker, the Iranian currency compared to the U.S. dollar is over 40,000 to 1. On the eve of the Islam Republic, it was 70 to 1.

The Iranian people have borne the brunt of 35 years of corruption and terror, and I stand with them tonight, and I stand against the failures of the deal that we are talking about.

At this critical moment in Iran's history, I stand on the floor of the American people's House, and the Iranian people are in the streets, not chanting "death to America," Mr. Speaker, but marching for the same endowed freedoms that we enjoy here every day: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. ZELDIN for hosting this Special Order and for giving Members the opportunity to participate and highlight the flaws of this failed nuclear deal, the importance of why decertification works, and the corruption and the brutality of the Iranian mullahs.

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Arkansas for his comments. The people of Arkansas who listened to his remarks this evening, people back in my district who are listening to Congressman HILL, and people from all around America, can tell that he gets it.

Unfortunately, as we were negotiating the Iran nuclear deal, we had people who were negotiating from weaker and weaker positions, and, unfortunately, ended up accepting a deal that crossed many of their own red lines that were set. I think we would have been in much better shape if we had more people like the gentleman

from Arkansas in the administration at that time. Fortunately, he is here in Congress with us, and I thank the gentleman for participating this evening.

Speaking of getting it, we have another leader from the House Financial Services Committee, chairman of the Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade, ANDY BARR from the great State of Kentucky, an exceptional Member of Congress who understands the financial system of our great country, the leverage that we have with regard to the sanctions, the way that leverage disappeared, and the way that we negotiated away that leverage with the sanctions relief.

He understands that we are dealing with an adversary that doesn't respect weakness. They only respect strength. I appreciate the gentleman being here and everything he does in the Financial Services Committee here in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR).

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN), for his important leadership and his voice on this very critical issue and for being a stalwart defender of the rock-solid alliance between the American people and the State of Israel, and the important relationship that represents; Israel, of course, being an island of moderation in a very dark and dangerous part of the world.

When the United States is asked to make foreign policy decisions, it is my view and it is Congressman ZELDIN's view that we should stand with our allies. We should stand with Israel. We should not stand with our enemies. We should not stand with the mullahs in Tehran. But, instead, we should stand with our ally who always opposed this dangerous Iran nuclear deal.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Iran nuclear deal, also known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, and I agree with the President's assessment that the Iran deal gave too many benefits to Iran for too little in return.

I also want to thank my colleague and friend FRENCH HILL, who also serves with Congressman ZELDIN and myself on the House Financial Services Committee, where the three of us have an important responsibility to the American people, our constituents, and our allies, and that is oversight of the Department of the Treasury's implementation and enforcement of sanctions.

More than 4 years ago, the Obama administration reached this flawed nuclear deal with Iran. Since then, the destabilizing role that this rogue regime has played in the Middle East has not waned, but, instead, it has grown. Despite all the concessions to Iran, the Iranian leadership continues to lead mobs of supporters chanting "death to America" and "death to Israel," and promises to wipe Israel off the face of the planet.

The leadership in Tehran continues to pose a range of threats to the na-

tional security of the United States and the security of our allies in the region and beyond. As many observers have noted, the regime in Tehran does not see itself as leading a country focused on security and prosperity within its borders, but, instead, leading a revolution that it seeks to expand at the expense of its neighbors and the United States and its allies.

Iran continues to represent the number one state sponsor of terrorism in the world. Iran has received significant sanctions relief under the Obama administration's flawed nuclear deal. The regime is selling oil on the international market. It has received access to tens of billions of dollars in funds held abroad, and it has signed deals worth more than \$100 billion in foreign investments.

This includes, as the gentleman from Arkansas pointed out, \$1.8 billion in cash that the Obama administration gave to Iran up front under the previous administration's false narrative that this agreement would help make the Middle East more stable and a safer place.

Yet, Iran continues to destabilize the Middle East and undermine U.S. foreign policy. The regime's Revolutionary Guard Corps and its terrorist proxy, Hezbollah, continue to prop up the murderous Assad regime in Syria and fuel tension across the region. Hezbollah has stockpiled tens of thousands of advanced rockets in Lebanon, allowing it to strike targets throughout Israel, and this is after the consummation of the Iran nuclear deal.

At home, the regime continues to deny the Iranian people basic human rights, while detaining several Americans. Iran's so-called moderate president, Hassan Rouhani, gave the order to "expedite" the production of intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of striking the United States while presiding over the most executions in 25 years.

There is, according to the defenders of the JCPOA, a false narrative that they perpetuate, and the media is complicit. The false narrative being that Iran is in compliance with the deal, and this is despite reports that Iran continues trying to illicitly procure nuclear equipment from Germany after the deal was reached. The Obama administration subsidized Iran's nuclear program by purchasing heavy water, a chemical used to make weapons-grade plutonium.

Furthermore, we know that this deal, by its own architecture, was not designed to ensure compliance, because there is no effective verification procedure embedded in the deal.

Under the current JCPOA, the United Nations International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors are not even allowed to check Iranian military sites, the sites that are most likely to be the places where Iran houses and conducts its nuclear testing. A comprehensive, no-notice inspection regime must be put into place in any future agreement, which President Trump has ensured would be part of his better alternative.

Ballistic missiles: In addition, Iran continues to develop and test ballistic missiles that threaten Israel and the United States. According to joint intelligence reports, Iran has launched well over 23 ballistic missiles since the signing of the JCPOA. Far from lessening the threat, the Iran nuclear deal emboldened Iran to continue to violate U.N. Security Council resolutions, specifically, a blatant disregard of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 that formally approved the Iran nuclear deal.

□ 2000

Specifically, that resolution called on Iran to not undertake any activity related to ballistic missiles designed to be capable of delivering nuclear weapons, including launches using such ballistic missile technology.

Ballistic missiles, Mr. Speaker, are the most reliable way to deliver nuclear warheads, and no country has maintained an expensive missile program without also aspiring to possess nuclear weapons.

The leadership in Iran in negotiating this agreement professed a commitment to civilian nuclear power.

Why then continue to develop ballistic missiles, Mr. Speaker, if you are committed to only peaceful nuclear power?

As former Secretary of Defense Ash Carter testified to Congress in 2016, President Obama's own Defense Secretary: The I in ICBM stands for intercontinental, which means having the capability to fly from Iran to the United States.

Intercontinental ballistic missiles, as our friend, Prime Minister Netanyahu, pointed out, are not designed for Tel Aviv. Those missiles are designed for Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, and Chicago.

Support for Hezbollah hasn't waned since the Iran nuclear deal was consummated, since it was signed. Iran is and continues to be the largest state sponsor of terrorism, and current estimates indicate that Iran provides Hezbollah approximately \$800 million annually. According to the State Department, Iran provides the majority of financial support for Hezbollah and Lebanon and has trained thousands of terrorist group fighters at camps in Iran.

Regrettably, this deal that provided billions of dollars in sanctions relief and billions of dollars in hard currency to the rogue regime in Tehran is fueling Iranian support for Hezbollah.

In addition to fighters, Hezbollah is believed to possess over 100,000 missiles. It has been reported that Iran has built weapons factories for Hezbollah in southern Lebanon, providing the ability to produce destructive munitions on its own near Israel. It has sent fighters to Syria on behalf of the Assad regime and helped train and develop Shiite militias furthering Iranian interests in Iraq and Yemen.

This combat experience in Syria and Iraq is particularly alarming as Hezbollah now has thousands of experienced fighters at its disposal who can be redeployed to other conflicts in the future. The Iran nuclear deal has fueled this export of terrorism.

Finally, reports indicate that Iran civilian airlines also participate in the conflict by flying arms and fighters to Syria from Iran and other locations in the Middle East. We have heard directly testimony in our committee as the House Financial Services Committee has conducted searching oversight over the implementation of the Iran nuclear deal that, in fact, this agreement has facilitated and fueled civilian airlines being used to send arms and fighters to support the murderous Assad regime.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I joined my colleagues here tonight not opposed to diplomacy and not opposed to any Iran nuclear deal. In fact, all of us would like to see a peaceful denuclearization of Iran. We would like democracy and freedom for the people of Iran. We stand with the people in Iran. We are not against any agreement.

We simply stand against a bad nuclear deal that is not verifiable, that doesn't prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, but instead paves the way for Iran to have a nuclear arsenal. We stand opposed to a bad nuclear deal that threatens our allies, that threatens Israel, and that threatens the American people.

We believe that the President can and will negotiate a better deal for America, and it is incumbent upon Congress to help this administration access the leverage it needs to achieve that objective and to support his vision to help hold Iran accountable to the United States and our allies.

What would this agreement entail?

Why would a new agreement be better than the current JCPOA?

It would remove all of the flawed sunset provisions; it would require Iran to suspend any support of terrorist proxies; it would require Iran to permanently and irreversibly end its ballistic missile program; and it would include much better verification that would allow international inspectors access to all sites, including sites that are most likely to contain illicit nuclear activity.

Mr. Speaker, once again, I am proud to stand with the ally of the United States, Israel, and stand against our enemy, the mullahs in Tehran.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN) again for his outstanding leadership and his passionate voice in defense of American national security and in defense of Israel and our other allies.

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Kentucky for speaking. That was outstanding.

For anyone who is trying to get caught up with the 101, 201, or 301 of what has been going on over the course

of the last few years and hasn't been paying attention, they can just listen to the gentleman's remarks two or three times over and understand, study, ask questions, and get brought completely up to speed as far as what went wrong and how we go forward from here.

So I thank the gentleman for participating, for his leadership, and for his great remarks tonight.

When I was first elected, I would be at events, and I would let people know about how I have two titles being both the highest ranking Jewish Republican in Congress and the lowest ranking Jewish Republican in Congress. But then the numbers doubled. We went from one to two in 115th. If you are keeping score at home, that means we are on pace so that in January of 2023 there will be a minyan here in the House of Representatives of Jewish Republicans. So we have a little ways to go, but we are blessed to have a freshman who is joining us here tonight from the great State of Tennessee, DAVID KUSTOFF, whom I guess I will call the cochair of the Jewish Republican caucus of the House of Representatives. He is my friend from Tennessee, a great Member, a great freshman Member, and a great leader and voice on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. KUSTOFF).

Mr. KUSTOFF of Tennessee. My friend from New York is my leader. I recognize that and will yield to him in that respect.

I also appreciate his taking the time to organize this evening this very important issue. I think we all realize that the defense of our Nation and our allies is one of the most important reasons that we function as a government.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of President Trump's recent decision to withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action also known as the Iran deal.

In November of 2017, I spoke here on the House floor lauding President Trump's decision to decertify the Iran deal. Today I am glad to stand here with the news that the United States is finally withdrawing from this deeply flawed deal and reimposing tough sanctions on Tehran.

Just a few months ago, April 30 of this year, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu unveiled a massive supply of documents revealing Iran's developments of a secret nuclear weapons program while claiming otherwise. In reality, Iran kept these documents in a secured vault ensuring that the International Atomic Energy Agency would never find them during their inspection. With the Prime Minister's revelations, the Iranian regime is believed to have been falsifying reports to the agency for years, and the deal failed in its basic objective to prevent the regime from obtaining nuclear weapons.

This hard evidence by Israeli intelligence only further illustrates that

Iran cannot be trusted by the international community and only continues to harbor hostility that threatens our national security interests.

As we have seen over the years, the Iran deal has also failed to prevent the further testing of ballistic missiles. According to the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Iran has launched 23 illicit ballistic missiles since the beginning of the signing of the Iran deal in July of 2015.

Now, one of these was a new long-range missile with capabilities to carry multiple warheads. This was the country's third test of a missile with a range of approximately 1,200 miles and fully capable of reaching Israel.

Against multiple United Nations Security Council resolutions, Iran continues to invest time, invest energy, and invest resources into its ballistic missile program. These illicit tests are dangerous, they are unacceptable, and they cannot continue to occur.

Additionally, Iran continues to be one of the world's largest state sponsors of terrorism with the IRGC operatives in Lebanon, in Syria, and in Gaza, all of which surrounds our friend and our ally, Israel.

Just today, Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps Deputy Commander Major General Hossein Salami stated that Iran's regional allies were "awaiting orders to eradicate the evil regime." This is in reference to Israel. It is clear that Iran's aggression in the region is dramatically increasing, leaving Israel and other surrounding countries vulnerable to a nuclear weapons attack.

This past February, just a few months ago, Israel shot down an Iranian drone that had been dispatched from a Syrian airbase 30 seconds after it crossed into Israeli airspace. It was not until April 13 of this year when Israel revealed that the Iranian drone was carrying explosives with plans to attack and destroy an unspecified target in Israel. Think about it. Had this situation been escalated to nuclear warfare, one can only imagine the devastation that would have ensued.

We have got to say enough is enough. We cannot enable Iran to enrich tons of uranium; we cannot enable Iran to test ballistic missiles against the United Nations Security Council resolutions; we cannot enable Iran to funnel \$150 billion of frozen assets to terrorist proxies such as Hamas and Hezbollah; and we cannot enable Iran's belligerence to escalate.

While the previous administration failed in their intent to inhibit Iran from its perilous activities, quite frankly, President Trump did not. He did the right thing for the United States; he did the right thing for Israel; and he did the right thing for our allies throughout the world.

I am pleased that the President saw the dangers of the Iran deal as it did not stop Iran's ambition to become nuclear, but rather paves it.

As we work in Congress to implement further sanctions against the Iranian

regime, we must protect our allies in the Middle East and effectively prevent Iran from progressing with their nuclear weapons program.

I, again, want to thank my friend and my colleague from New York, Congressman ZELDIN, for leading this discussion so that all the issues and, frankly, all the facts can be out on the table.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the great leadership Congressman ZELDIN has shown on this issue.

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Tennessee. It is so great to have him here not just for tonight's remarks and his leadership on this issue, it is just so great to have him in Congress. I thank the gentleman so much for his friendship and for his important leadership.

Mr. Speaker, last month, President Trump correctly withdrew the United States from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA, otherwise known as the Iran nuclear deal. Tonight, during this hour, several Members of Congress were speaking here on the House floor regarding the administration's strategy to curb Iran's malign interests in the region and ensure Iran is no longer rewarded for its bad behavior.

The Iran deal was fatally flawed for what was in it and fatally flawed for what was not in it. First, it is important to reflect on key lessons that should be learned from the manner in which the United States made several bad errors negotiating this so-called deal.

□ 2015

We must learn these lessons to make sure that history never repeats itself.

First, the United States signed a preliminary agreement in 2013 that preemptively traded a large portion of our leverage even before formal negotiations began. The Iranians came to the table desperate for sanctions relief. They were not there as freedom-loving, good citizens of the world, nor were they aspiring to be. The leverage was sanctions relief, which was proof that the sanctions were working.

Nonnuclear activities weren't also on the table but should have been. Once you negotiate away all the leverage that will bring the Iranians to the table in the first place, you don't have the leverage left to deal with all of Iran's bad activities that you need to deal with.

Second, the United States underestimated just how desperate the Iranian leadership was in order to stay in power. There is no reason for the United States to assume the position of weakness that it did in the negotiation. We should have been, by far, the stronger party in the talks. For some very odd reason, the United States continued to negotiate from a weaker and weaker position for no good or acceptable reason.

Next, one red line after another was crossed, set by the United States. When

they were crossed, there were no consequences, further weakening our negotiating hand.

The United States also very much cared about hitting target dates that the Iranians didn't care whether or not were hit. That, too, further weakened our negotiating hand.

When the President and his administration gets rolled by a foreign adversary, we all, as Americans, are getting rolled. It is a huge problem. This was made worse by paying a \$1.7 billion cash ransom to get our hostages released. Pallets of unmarked cash had to be airlifted and delivered at the same exact time as the releasing of our hostages.

Now, there are a lot of people who say it wasn't a ransom. When you have to pay \$1.7 billion on pallets of cash delivered at the exact same moment as releasing the hostages, it is kind of hard to cut it any other way. Paying this cash ransom to the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism showed the ridiculous lengths the Obama administration was willing to go, at any and all costs, to appease Iran and show weakness to other American adversaries who were witnessing this all play out.

Recent reports revealed that the Obama administration misled the American people and granted a license letting Iran access the United States' financial system when U.S. Government officials pledged that they would never allow Iran to access U.S. investments or markets.

This Iran nuclear "deal" provided Iran with a jackpot of up \$150 billion in sanctions relief without even asking for a signature. Secretary Kerry called it "an unsigned political commitment."

Ben Rhodes, the White House's taxpayer-funded fiction writer, created an echo chamber to promote a false narrative and sell a devil's bargain of a deal to the American people.

Even Democratic Members of this Chamber were feeling the heat from the White House, forced to support what they were privately admitting was an unsigned, unchecked bad deal.

Secretary Kerry admitted this deal was never intended to receive congressional approval. He said this wasn't a treaty, because a treaty would have been "impossible to pass."

I don't know how anyone out there would define what a legal definition of "treaty" is, but I am pretty confident that that wouldn't be it. The U.S. should have never entered this historically bad deal to begin with and really could have done a much better job negotiating it.

As I mentioned earlier, the Iran nuclear deal was fatally flawed for what was in it and fatally flawed for what was not put in it. Next, I will discuss some of the reasons why it was fatally flawed for what was in it.

The JCPOA isn't a pathway for how to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. It is a blueprint for ex-

actly how Iran attains a nuclear weapon. Two of the biggest issues with what was in it, inside the JCPOA you have a very flawed verification regime and highly problematic sunset provisions.

President Obama said this deal wasn't built on trust; it was built on verification. I don't know how you support a deal that is built on verification when you have no idea what the verification regime is. I, as a Member of Congress, still have not received the secret side deals between the IAEA and Iran that outline the verification regime.

When Secretary Kerry was before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last Congress, I asked him if he had read it, and he said no. The Secretary of State did not read the verification regime. But the American public was told this was a deal not built on trust, built on verification.

We have learned since some of what is in the side deals, like Iran collects some of their own soil samples and is the inspector of some of their own nuclear sites.

It is crazy, right?

The United States made a slew of permanent concessions in exchange for temporary concessions on the part of the Iranians, a point which comes into much greater focus as the sunset provisions are analyzed. The sunset clause undermines any reasonable justification for the deal, providing Iran the capability to obtain a nuclear weapon within a few years even if it didn't cheat on the deal at all. That, of course, is in addition to the \$150 billion of sanctions relief.

Under the JCPOA, Iran was still allowed to assemble a limited amount of advanced centrifuges that could enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon within 1 year. However, Iran has even violated those minimal restrictions multiple times.

Iran has spun more IR-6 centrifuges than permitted under the JCPOA. It has assembled more IR-8 rotor assemblies than it is permitted to. It has attempted to acquire carbon fiber that it had agreed not to. It has stockpiled more heavy water than what was allowed under the JCPOA.

Just think, the people who have said that Iran has not violated the letter of the deal are all examples of the letter of the deal being violated.

With regards to verification, the Iranians have said before, during, and after this deal that they would allow no access to their military sites whatsoever. We said that we were going to have access to their military sites.

The Iranians said the entire time, before, during, and after: You will never have access to our military sites.

On top of it all, the United States agreed that we wouldn't have any of our weapons inspectors participate in any of the inspections.

The IAEA, on its own, has failed to conduct a thorough review of Iran's nuclear capabilities. Just one example, in September 2015, when the Iranian officials then granted limited access to

IAEA inspectors at the Parchin facility, although environmental samples revealed chemically man-modified particles of natural uranium, the IAEA did not pursue an explanation or even an inquiry. This Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is a house of cards.

So, what are we doing? Not only was a better deal absolutely attainable, but no deal would have been better than this agreement.

Next, I want to discuss in further detail why the JCPOA was fatally flawed for what was not in it.

When Secretary Kerry chose to ignore Iran's bad, nonnuclear activities in the region, he negotiated away all of the leverage that brought the Iranians to the table in the first place. You cannot separate Iran's ballistic missile development designed to deliver a nuclear warhead from its nuclear weapons program.

Iran has continued to pursue its ICBM development in violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Iran has continued to finance terrorism. It is the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism and has continued to work to overthrow foreign governments.

Iran supports Assad in Syria, Hezbollah, and the Houthis in Yemen. They have consolidated massive territorial control, building a land bridge between Tehran and Beirut, a direct threat to the security and stability of regional partners such as Israel and Jordan.

By failing to address Iran's non-nuclear activities, the JCPOA has given Iran more resources to pursue its terrorist ambitions in the region.

These are, unfortunately, just a few of the examples of Iran's bad activities.

Since the JCPOA was entered into, Iranian aggression in the Middle East, including Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere, has only increased.

Iran has launched as many as 23 ballistic missiles since the conclusion of the July 2015 nuclear deal.

They have illegally financed terrorist activities, wreaking havoc in the Middle East.

Iran has recommitted to wiping Israel off the map, calling them the Little Satan.

They chant death to America, and they call United States the Great Satan in their parliament, in their streets on their holidays, all while unjustly imprisoning American citizens.

In the past 2 years, Iran has blown up mock U.S. warships and seized one of our Navy vessels and subsequently held hostage and publicly embarrassed 10 American sailors.

Do you remember Secretary Kerry's reaction to Iran holding hostage and embarrassing those sailors? His response was: Thank you.

He was thanking the Iranians. He defended the whole situation as evidence of an improved relationship with Iran. That is living in an alternate version of reality.

One fundamental question is often misunderstood, and in many cases it is

not even asked: What leverage could we have, moving forward, to tackle all of Iran's threatening actions if we eliminate the sanctions that bring the Iranians to the table in the first place?

President Trump is absolutely correct to reimpose the toughest sanctions against Iran's oil and financial sector and IRGC officials, agents, and affiliates. In order to regain the leverage that brought the Iranians to the table, we must increase financial pressure so that Iran does not have the ability to back terrorist groups across the world and keep their economy afloat.

With Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and National Security Advisor John Bolton working so closely with our President to counter Iran's aggression, I feel confident when they say: "No path to a nuclear weapon, not now, not ever."

The onus is on Iran. If they like the sanctions relief and they want to keep the sanctions relief, then the United States has just a few reasonable requirements: the verification regime needs to be fixed; the sunset provisions need to be lifted; and the other bad and nefarious legal activities must end.

If there are any other nations around the world that want to keep the sanctions relief in place, then convince Iran to change its behavior and agree to the United States' very reasonable demands.

It is very telling that so many nations in the Middle East are supportive of President Trump's determinations to push back against Iranian aggression. They are the ones that are most impacted, and they support the decision.

In 2009, millions of Iranians poured into the streets to protest a fraudulent election of then-President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The United States and the rest of the world then offered zero support following that undemocratic election. President Obama said it was none of our business, which proved to not only be wrong, but also a huge error in judgment.

We must learn from our lesson of 2009 and not repeat that same mistake. The United States must support the millions of Iranians who continue to march in the streets desperate for support to help them turn the tide in Tehran and all throughout Iran. There are millions of people in Iran who want a free, stable, democratic Iran.

Now, in 2018, Iranians have once again courageously poured into the streets to protest the brutality of President Hassan Rouhani's regime. Over the last few months, we are witnessing the largest protests in Tehran since 2012.

Keep in mind that whenever we hear about how the most moderate candidates get elected in Iran—this is a point I have heard a lot. Iran elects the most moderate candidates, but so often they leave out the important point that the 12,000 most moderate candidates are denied access to the ballot

altogether. The only choice has been to pick a pro-regime hardliner. We should be under no illusions otherwise.

By withdrawing from the JCPOA, President Trump is sending an important message to the Iranians that America will not accept a regime that tortures its own people, funds terrorist activities, and vows for the destruction of the United States and our great ally, Israel.

The United States is a nation that is not even close to equals with Iran. We are the greatest Nation in the world, and when we engage in these negotiations, we must do so from a position of strength and not relinquish that. That is all that this adversary respects. We can't be silent not because we want war, but because we want to prevent it.

The good news is, now, in July of 2018, again we are treating Israel like Israel and Iran like Iran. One of my complaints and many other Americans is, for a while, we were treating Israel like Iran and Iran like Israel. It made no sense.

□ 2030

I mentioned earlier in this hour how important it is for the United States to be strong, consistent, and effective in our foreign policy; to strengthen our relationships with our friends; to treat our adversaries as our adversaries, understanding that our enemies, our adversaries, do not respect weakness; they only respect strength.

I wish that the start of the negotiation had gone down very differently in the first place, but fast forward to today. With President Trump, Secretary Pompeo, Ambassador Bolton, their team, and with other countries aligned with us, especially in the Middle East, we can pursue a better path forward.

For all of those who are interested, whether you like the JCPOA or not, if you like the sanctions relief or not; but hopefully all concerned with Iran's bad activities, especially their nuclear and their non-nuclear activities as well, you can help us, putting the onus on Iran and encouraging them to accept our very reasonable demands.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank, again, everyone who participated in tonight's hour. I would like to thank Sara Matar from my team, who has worked very hard on this issue throughout her time in my office. This is an issue that isn't going away anytime soon. It is one that will be passed on from one generation to the next. As our great republic continues to thrive, exist, grow, to be strong, and to protect our freedoms and liberties, we must be strong as a people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia (at the request of Mr. MCCARTHY) for today on account of attending a funeral.